



If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 6—No. 12

Administration and Editorial Address
P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif., December, 1938

1 (449)

Single Copy 5 Cents

MANKIND, CANCER AND POLITICIANS

The cancerous disease has been tabulated to be claiming a hundred and fifty thousand victims annually. There is not a man or woman passed the middle age that does not dread this voracious malady. Those caught in its gnawing net know full well that their days are numbered, with no hope left in their saddened hearts for recovery.

People of all stations in life stand helpless and forlorn before this dreadful disease. No one of the "Cura-tors" seem to know how to detect the cause of this widespread affliction, and no one in the research laboratories has thus far been able to find a cure for it.

As frightful as this cancer malady works upon its potential victims the scourge of political disease from which humanity is made to suffer is tenfold—perhaps a thousandfold. The victims claimed by malignant politicians, professing this or that brand of "quack" surgery for their ailments, far exceed the cancer sufferers whose plight the medical profession seeks to alleviate, but admits frankly and honestly that it has not as yet found the proper clue to a remedy for them.

Way down, when the political world was mapped by the Alexanders, the Caesars, the Napoleons; upwards to the Mussolinis, Stalins and Hitlers, the pages of human history are replete with murder and suffering. Like wild beasts they fell upon the human race, clawing the helpless victims to death, or leaving them crushed in a whirlwind that carried with it violence and destruction.

The victims of the Caesars are long since dead; their remains serve only as mute evidence of the terrible horror they have undergone at the hands of self-proclaimed tyrants in their day.

Humanity today, notwithstanding the great optimism some idealists are inclined to evince for its future, lies crushed beneath the bloody claws of modern tyrants as their brethren that rest in their long-forgotten catacombs of Alexandria and Rome. In Barcelona, as in Hankow, or Siberia, or Addis-Ababa, untold millions of the human race are put to death by the sword; untold millions are made homeless and many more millions crawl about like indigent worms in search for a little food to still their hunger. Where is there that genius who could depict the tragic scene of a Spanish child breathing its last breath for want of a little milk! Where is there that genius who could picture for us the horrible scene of bands of Chinese men and women roaming in refuse, in vain hope to find a little crumb that would still the hunger of a crying babe! Where is there the genius who could bare to us the tragic moments of a Chinese civilian standing before a freshly dug grave where he is to be buried alive.

Like the political tyrants of ancient days who spread horror and destruction in their wake, the politicians of today are responsible for our human tragedy. From Hitler and Mussolini's hands is dripping the blood of the murdered Spanish people; from under Stalin's political axe cry the murdered victims in their death-pits; the Samurai politicians of Japan have caused the slaughter of millions of Chinese and Japanese soldiers and innocent noncombatants. They, like their beastly prototypes—the Caesars, Alexanders and Napoleons—are sacrificing humanity on the altar of a political game, which they translate into some kind of a "national glory," so as to inspire their own flocks with a thirst for murder, and they, in blind obedience, become so fanatically infatuated with the idea that they consider it a sacred patriotic duty to slaughter and be slaughtered.

As a vivid illustration of human suffering brought on by political bigotry, let us glance at the tragic occurrences in the Jewish-Arab settlement of Palestine. Here is a land where Jews and Arabs have lived amicably for many decades. No animosity existed between the two peoples. They lived in peace and in harmony, working together, trading with one another in their Oriental fashion, and worshipping each one's prophet according to tradition and belief. Along came a Jewish patriot, Dr. Herzl, who introduced a scheme for the acquisition of Palestine as a Jewish land by purchasing it from Turkey, its pre-war owner. But even then it failed to disrupt the peaceful habitation of Jews and Arabs. While the Zionist scheme was the establishment of Jews in the Holy Land, it bore no political significance with the Arab nation. In later

ACTION AGAINST NAZI GANGSTERS

The vengeance unloosed by the gangster-Nazis of Germany upon the Jews, in retaliation for the killing of an embassy official in France by a 17-year-old despondent Jewish youth, is by far not as contemptible and criminal as the lip-service protest of some representatives of the so-called "democracies" proves itself to be. Who will attempt to deny that a Roosevelt does not know that only an immediate stoppage of all commercial as well as political relationship with gangster-ruling Nazism can bring to a swift end the latter's vandalism, sadism and outright murdering of innocent people?

Every one now realizes that the betrayal at Munich by the "democracies" was a deliberate choice out of fear, the fear of social upheavals that might have followed the culmination of a war, ending the reign of the Hitlers and the Mussolinis as it did that of the czar in 1917. And the truth is, Mr. Roosevelt, no less than the Chamberlains and Daladiers, wishes to really see nazism or fascism brought to an end.

It is only the real common people of the world, and especially the workers, whose conscience is really shocked and outraged by what is taking place in Germany that are the sole force that can strangle the blackest scourge of the present times—fascism and nazism. This the people of the world can do by immediately instituting a world-wide boycott of all products coming from Germany and Italy, as well as a continuous strike against the production and delivery of any sort of merchandise to either Germany or Italy.

Drastic and revolutionary as such action no doubt would prove itself to be, it is the only method that may arouse the people of Germany and Italy to rise in rebellion against the monstrous regimes they have allowed to exist—already too long.

CHRISTMAS TREE

*The night was bleak . . .
Snow was falling . . . brooding clouds like sullen mon-
sters crawled through a melancholy sky . . .*

*The mill on the hill was closed . . . Ben was looking for
work . . . There had been no Christmas at his
home . . . Santa Claus is a myth believed by those
whose bellies are filled.*

*In an alley Ben found a tree that once stood in an
Oregon forest . . . a discarded Christmas tree . . .*

*Ben smiled as he seized the tree . . . that night Ben's
kids were warm . . . for a while . . . the Christmas
tree made good stove wood.*

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

years, when Zionism progressed to the extent of populating the territory with immigrating Jews, it still did not hamper the friendly relations that existed between the two peoples. On the contrary, the Arab nation was much pleased with the agrarian and industrial developments introduced by Jewish enterprise, which created a new working field for the Arab population and raised their living standard to a higher level. This mutual friendliness continued—yes, until the Balfour Declaration. . . . By offering that famous "mandate," which promised the Jewish nation a Homeland in Palestine, it aroused a nationalistic spirit not only among the Jews, but among the Arabs as well. The Arab nation, instigated by their own political Emirs, began to look with suspicion at their "guests," whose real aim proved to be the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in their country where their ancestors lived for almost a millenium.

And so we see that with the politicians of the Zionist movement persistently demanding of Great Britain to keep her written promise for a Jewish Homeland, the Arabs opened a campaign of terror against the Jews and both nations became divided in two opposite camps, ready to spring at one another's throat for the preservation of each one's national glory. Right at this moment, with Britain's plan for a division of

Palestine between the Jews and Arabs (her old scheme of divide-and-rule), terror has gripped both nations. Hundreds are waylaid by bombs and machine guns on both sides; incendiary fires sweep away plantations, workshops and even whole settlements; thousands are being arrested by England's gendarmerie, with many of them being executed for disobedience to English rule. Murder and death reigns among the once-friendly inhabitants of Palestine.

Such is the work of political charlatans.

The same sort of political leeches are at their sinister work in Germany, in Italy—all over. In Germany, prior to Hitler's ascendancy, the rank-and-file of the German people knew nothing of racial animosity (yes, we know there existed in Germany a book—antisemitism). It is this Hitler caboodle that has divided the two nations into separate and distinct races, with the weaker minority (the Jews), bearing the brunt of hatred and persecution. All human feeling has entirely been eradicated by the gospel of hate which the politicians of the New Reich introduced for the German people.

The same evil forces, headed by Mussolini, are now at work in Italy. Emulating the Goebbels and Streichers of Germany, they are employing all the vile means at their command to arouse an anti-Jewish feeling among the Italians. With one stroke of the pen from their hired "professors" who got the assignment to perform this noble task, the Italian people, who never bore any malice towards the comparatively few Jews living amongst them, are now being trained in the lofty ideal of race hatred and soon probably will be forced to compete with their "Aryan" brothers in the art of persecuting a weaker neighbor.

Thus we have before us a world of humanity that has ever suffered the stigma of political brigandage—a humanity that from its earliest history is being divided into hostile camps and whipped to a frenzy of combatting each other so as to appease the bloody appetites of their masters. The result is well known and need hardly be repeated—murder, pillage and untold misery for the human race.

We know that as soon as the cancer disease affects the vital organs of its victim, that victim immediately applies for medical aid. No matter how desperate or hopeless the case he will not rest until he has himself examined by laboratory tests, in hope that perhaps his Doctor could find some remedy that would restore him back to his health. This applies not only to individuals but to society as a whole. Our human society is greatly interested in finding a medicine cure for cancer. Many research laboratories are being maintained by voluntary subscription—even by government subsidy—to make tests and experiments with little rodents so as to find a remedy that would relieve its victims from the pangs of this destructive malady.

By comparison this political disease is more deadly and is taking a heavier toll in human life than cancer. Its parasitic effect upon the human race is more destructive than that dreaded malady. Why then is Society (as a whole or individually) so unpardonably indifferent that it does not even attempt to look for a medicine cure that might eliminate the disease? Why do people so willingly submit to the degrading, demoralizing and destructive effect of a political machination that forever tortures and chokes the very life out of them?

Furthermore, it is not necessary for society to experiment with laboratory tests in order to find a cure for this social disease. A proper remedy has long since been well formulated, well prepared and made ready for use by various Thinkers who diagnosed and thoroughly understood the condition of Society's ailments. All humanity needs to do is turn away from the political bigots and begin living their life as free and independent people. This could very easily be accomplished if every one of the human race should begin thinking as an individual human being and not depend on self-appointed politicians to ordain their life for them; and—

If they ever come to that stage, we shall rid ourselves of the infesting maladies that paralyze our social function and then we could hope to live in a free and harmonious society of human beings.

Samuel Polinow

ECONOMIC REALITIES

Gold 'O Bay

In perusing the progressive and radical press, the attentive reader will notice a general trend of thought which persists in approaching the solution of today's social problems on the old basis of social and economic commonplaces. Men who consider themselves experts in social and economic fields continue to apply the old, deceptive formulas of yore to the social question of today. These formulas are substantially foreign to a real analysis of relationship between cause and effect. These men, interested in the above question, 'know social facts. Due to their political prejudices, however, most of the time they are unable to conceive a solution which would remove the causes of social evils. In fact, their only and ultimate remedy is embodied in a simple change in the political form of government rather than in a complete transformation of the economic and juridical structure of society.

Liberals, democrats, republicans, socialists, communists and syndicalists advocate the advent of governments committed to the following policies:—peace, disarmament, fight against unemployment, abolition of tariffs, free exchange, circulation of capital, fight against high cost of living, high wages, public works, fight against reaction and fascism and the whole array of "social reforms." This they do in order to remove the causes of war, reaction and social convulsions threatening the very life of the people throughout the world. Let us, then, examine the value and consistency of these policies in the light of reason and experience.

PEACE

If the interests of individuals and of nations would be founded upon a common, natural, solidaristic and equitable basis, humanity would not even know the meaning of the word "war." The cause of war, therefore, is to be found in the antagonism of interests upon which capitalist society is based.

No government can insure peace unless the causes of war are eliminated first. To abolish these causes we must abolish all capitalist institutions.

DISARMAMENT

Since, as we have said, the causes of war are co-existent with the capitalist society, armaments are an inexorable necessity for the latter and at the same time constitute one of its chief economic activities. No sensible individual can believe, or sincerely have others believe, that it is possible to disarm regimes which—regardless of their political forms—are based on the principle of force, violence and domination.

The horrors of the World War did not destroy armaments in the various capitalist states. The League of Nations—meant to be the political and juridical international organ expressly created to bring about universal disarmament—has revealed itself another disillusionment for those naive enough to entertain hopes that the League would carry out its purported aim.

REACTION

Reactionary and fascist governments are a variety of the forms of government employed by the same capitalist regime. These particular forms are resorted to when and where the restlessness of the masses or revolutionary activity threatens the conservation of capitalist domination. It is also resorted to when and where a liberal and constitutional government cannot cope with the revolt of the masses against abnormal exploitation in countries where the national economy is poor.

Permanent reaction, in the form of a fascist government, is determined by the economic factor; in fact, it asserts itself more easily in the economically poorer countries where the people's miserable standard of living would otherwise provoke social conflicts and shake the capitalist institutions.

In countries where the national economy allows the masses a minimum of well-being, the social struggle takes less violent forms which do not threaten capitalist structure. Therefore, there is no necessity for a permanent reactionary form of government. However, these reactionary and fascist forms of government would be inevitably employed the moment capitalism's economic contradictions would deprive the masses of their usual means of existence and of the acquired minimum of well-being, consequently bringing about discontentment and revolt.

While it is worthwhile to encourage the fight for the preservation and conquest of political liberties, it is to be remembered that society cannot be liberated from reaction and dictatorships unless every form of privilege and economic domination is destroyed. All political liberties are conditional to the economic emancipation of all members of society.

UNEMPLOYMENT

What is the cause of unemployment today?

Machinery.

The number of unemployed increases in the same ratio that the use of machinery increases in all branches of industry.

Apparently, the only way to fight unemployment is to destroy machinery.

Machinery produces one hundred times as much as

man; it can produce in 24 hours what a man produces in one month of hard work. Should, then, machinery be destroyed for the satisfaction of re-employing men—that is, to subject them to bestial toil? It is unbelievable that anyone should want to do that. What we really want is not a fight against unemployment but a fight for the right to consume that which is produced. In fact, the fight should be directed towards the generalization of unemployment and the creation of more leisure time through the extensive use of machinery.

The fight against unemployment, on the face of social realities, is nonsensical. It is a diversion to keep the masses away from employing the only economic formula which would bring about their liberation; namely, the substitution of an economy of free distribution for the present one of value and profit.

TARIFFS

The abolition of protective tariffs would not bring about any change in the economic conditions of the millions who have nothing to exchange.

The masses of unemployed—which constitute one-third of the population in almost every country—have nothing to give in exchange for what they need. It is because of this that the capitalists prefer to destroy huge stocks of products rather than give them at no profit.

To put the millions of proletarians in a condition to satisfy their needs it is insufficient to abolish tariffs and re-establish free exchange: it is necessary to abolish exchange and institute the free distribution of products to the consumers.

CAPITAL

What is the aim of capital?

It is the search for interest and profit.

If capital does not circulate or if it emigrates, it is because it cannot be invested profitably. In fact, with an over-production of almost anything vendible for profit, where and how could capital be invested?

The problem is not that of stimulating the circulation of capital—which is almost an impossibility—but that of allowing the free distribution of products by abolishing capital and profit.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

Over-production has forced industries in general to cut down the cost of production in order to be able to

sell at competitive prices rather than close down completely. However, for the millions of non-wage earners who have been displaced by machinery, it is not a question of obtaining "lower prices" but a question of totally abolishing the prices given to commodities.

HIGH WAGES

High wages might seem an apparent advantage for those fortunate enough to receive wages. The fact of the matter is that the "increase" in wages is invariably added to the "cost of production," thus causing a corresponding or greater increase in the selling prices of products. Consequently, the non-wage earners and the wage earners who receive no increase will be forced into buying much less than they were able to do prior to the wage increase.

It is evident, then, that for the masses the solution does not come with an apparent wage increase. It is vital to abolish the wage system and put commodities at everybody's disposal.

PUBLIC WORKS

Undoubtedly, public works are commendable and are useful to society and civilization. Economically, however, these works are a liability. In fact, while they provide work for only a fraction of the unemployed, on the other hand, they bring indebtedness to towns, counties and states, and, in the end, the workers are forced to "foot the bill."

When the public works plans will have been carried out, the people will be faced with an increase in unemployment, in taxes and in prices of commodities.

So long as economic activities will aim at profit, rather than use, so long shall this generation and those to come live in want and misery.

• • •

In the light of these facts, it becomes evident that in order to solve the social question it is necessary to discard the old, worn-out commonplaces of politics and economics. It should be easy for the masses to understand that whoever is an advocate of production for profit is a reactionary upholder of the present society of misery and exploitation; whereas, the advocates of production for use—minus any interference by organized authority—are really lovers of justice and freedom and believers in the emancipation of the people.

ABRAHAM ISAAC: 1856—1937

Harry Kelly

Our comrade, Abraham Isaak, who passed away recently in California at a ripe old age, possessed many of the characteristics of the ideal propagandist. Intelligent, genial, with a broad experience of men and movements, a lover of freedom and the ability and courage to defend his ideals he had a rich and colorful personality and despite his 81 years last October the world in which he lived, as well as our movement is the poorer for his passing.

Isaak was born in a Russian Menonite Colony on October 4, 1856, of poor parents and had a hard job acquiring an education. While still very young he went to Odessa and in a short time became associated with the revolutionary movement there. Becoming known he was forced like many others, to leave Russia. He went first to South America but remained there only a short while, when he came on to this country. Settling in Portland, Oregon, he became a member of the Socialist Labor Party, but when the Congress of the First International, held in London in 1896, ejected the anarchists, resigned from the party. He then aligned himself with the anarchists and together with Henry Addis, an American, and a man named Morris started a small paper which they called *The Firebrand*.

They had a small printing plant—the property of Morris, I believe—and Isaak, his wife and three children who had come with him from Russia printed the paper. Their lack of knowledge of the English language and of printing made it a pretty poor looking paper, however, the ideas were good and the tone strongly revolutionary. After a time the paper incurred the ire of Anthony Comstock, self-appointed keeper of the morals of the country, and Isaak, Addis and an older man named Pope, then associated with them, were arrested and charged with sending obscene matter through the mails. One of the articles listed was Walt Whitman's "The Woman Who Waits for Me." A little later the Isaak family went to San Francisco where they revived the paper under the name of *Free Society*. From

this time on the paper was well edited and properly printed and was a credit to our movement. Most of their support came from the East; as a result in 1900 or 1901 they moved to Chicago where they remained through 1903 or early in 1904 before they again moved and this time to New York.

In Chicago, Isaak became friendly with Clarence Darrow and Graham Taylor, who conducted what was called the Chicago Commons, and many others. It was during this time that a young man called to see him and said that his name was Leon Czolgosz, that he was an anarchist from Cleveland and that he intended to kill President McKinley. Naturally Isaak believed he was a spy, and after writing to comrades in Cleveland for information and receiving the answer that the young man was unknown to them, he put a note in the next issue of the paper warning the comrades everywhere against him and expressing it as his opinion that the man was a spy. It happened that Czolgosz was not a spy but was telling the truth, but under similar circumstances it is reasonable to suppose that most of us would have thought and acted as Isaak did.

Coming to New York in 1904 Isaak tried to continue the paper there but it was too much for him. Records had been kept over a period of years and they showed an average income for the family, with Abe Isaak, Mary Isaak, his wife, and Abe Isaak, Jr., all working on the paper, of \$11.00 a week. It was too much of a burden. After ten years of service on *Free Society* Abe, Jr., finally went out and got a job; the income was insufficient to pay the printing and the paper at last passed into history. It was a splendid paper, a credit to any movement, and the devotion of the Isaak family over that long period was the sort of thing one often hears about but seldom comes in contact with.

Remaining in New York after this Isaak was active in the movement and is still remembered by the old-timers of that period. In 1909 he conceived the idea of organizing a colony in California where the members would make a living by fruit farming. Land was purchased some six or seven miles from Lincoln, which is about twenty-seven miles from Sacramento and the colony started. I spent three weeks there in March, 1911; it was a lovely country and my stay was most enjoyable.

Even in the country, where he remained until he died on December 10, 1937, Isaak could not refrain from agitating. He became active in the cooperative farm movement. Highly respected by everyone although at all times an outspoken anarchist, he was elected to the Board of Water Commissioners for Placer and Nevada Counties year after year! A non-salaried position although the commission was responsible for several million dollars of water every year.

His heart was with us to the end and his belief in anarchism never failed him. Peace to his ashes.

A New Edition MUSSOLINI—RED & BLACK

by

Armando Borghi

(Translated from the Italian by Dorothy Dudley)

75 cents per Copy

Order from L'Avantage dei Refrattari, Box 1, Station 18, Newark, N. J., or from the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 45 W. 17th St., New York City.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT GOES ON

ASYLUM—NOT EXILE—FOR FERRERO!

Open Letter
To Secretary of Labor
Frances Perkins
and
Mr. James L. Houghteling
Commissioner of Immigration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Since it is well known that you have discretionary power in interpreting and applying the law while the courts do not interfere with your decisions and this settled policy on the part of the courts leaves the fate of Vincent Ferrero entirely in your hands, we therefore address you:

The Italian Consul has asked "to make known to them the date of his departure." This inquiry on the part of the consul bears out the "benevolent interest" borne by Fascist Italy towards the Anti-Fascist Vincent Ferrero. The Department of Labor cannot be blind nor can it prefer to ignore the consequences awaiting Ferrero.

On December 6, 1938 expires the recent stay, granting "voluntary departure," as a matter of "grace" to Vincent Ferrero. This deportation is not mandatory as a review of the facts below will clearly show.

President Roosevelt has declared "that since 1789 our country has offered Asylum to political exiles and that he intends to continue leaving it a haven for such people." The United States authorities promptly granted asylum to some of the recent political emigres forced to flee from their reactionary ruled countries. President Roosevelt's radio address on October 26, 1938, reaffirmed in one sentence our fundamental laws guaranteeing the Freedom of Thought when he said, "There can be no peace if humble men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, to worship God." Vincent Ferrero is being deported for identically the same reasons as these political refugees whose rights he speaks for.

Through many mediums United States officials have constantly denounced the totalitarian regimes of the Old World and have a reputation through the entire world for being in favor of the Right of Asylum. It behooves Americans particularly to remain faithful to the hospitality which they have flattered themselves upon always upholding.

California at the time of his arrest was in an upheaval due to talk of a strike along the coast and police forces, as a protective measure, raided homes of known radicals and locked them up. He was an innocent victim of the strike scare.

Both Domenick Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero were persecuted for sub-letting office space to the editor of

"MANI", an Anarchist journal, freely circulating through the U. S. Mail. Their cases and their defenses were directly linked together. Ferrero's case was in fact an outgrowth of Sallitto's arrest; yet Sallitto was given unconditional release while Ferrero is still under the threat of deportation. The same justice should be applied to Ferrero as has been shown to Sallitto.

Ferrero entered this country legally 33 years ago. His record is and has been unstained; in all his 53 years he has at no time committed any crime whatsoever.

L'Emancipazione discontinued publication more than 2 years prior to his arrest and was freely circulated through the U. S. Mail. At no time was the publication of this philosophical journal deemed a crime during the period of his editorship.

The charge of advocating the overthrow of organized government is a construction placed by lay, prejudiced immigration inspectors upon any thoughts or acts which they deem reprehensible. Thoughts and ideas are in themselves incoercible, and they should be expressed and debated in an atmosphere of complete freedom. The right to choose, accept or reject them rests with the people.

It is curious that an alien demanded by a foreign government, as an alleged criminal receives a far greater protection than an alien whom the U. S. government itself surrenders to the country of his origin. The hospitality extended to Louis Kossuth and his compatriots after the abortive Hungarian revolution of 1848. Koszta case in 1853. Arguelles case in 1864. Mangaro case in 1920 and other nationalistic groups such as the Irish revolutionists, etc. Ferrero's character as an alien seeking political refuge is identical with that of numerous aliens whom this country has defended against extradition and deportation.

This banishment, either forced or eased out through voluntary departure is in direct contradiction with American traditions of right of asylum. Justice and right forbid it. Why place America below any country willing to offer him asylum? By being more humane you can again place America upon the pedestal as the land of the free and the home of the hunted and oppressed.

We therefore urge you to exercise that power of discretion to restore to every individual the right to think and speak freely and consequently the unconditional cancellation of the deportation order against Vincent Ferrero.

Sincerely yours,

FERRERO DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Mary Fox

Secy. Org. Comm.

F. S. Notaristefano

Ass't Sec'y.

P.O. BOX 151, STA. D, NEW YORK CITY

THE GRAHAM CASE

(Excerpts from the Court's Decision)

"The fact that deportation proceedings are civil in their nature does not prevent the privilege against self incrimination from being raised by a witness called upon to testify therein. . . . The order of the lower court is reversed and the court is directed to determine upon further proceedings herein which questions, if any, put to appellant before the immigrant inspector and shown in the information and transcript thereto attached, would tend to incriminate him under a possible prosecution for violation of the federal criminal statutes cited by appellant in his answer herein and to allow the witness to purge himself of contempt with reference thereto by answering all the questions put to him in such proceedings as shown in the transcript as are held by the court not to be self incriminating. Thereafter the court will impose such sentence for contempt, if the court adjudges the defendant guilty thereof, as the court may determine to be just and proper."

—U. S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth District

Our Answer to the Court's Decision

On October 28, 1938, the Ninth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the sentence given previously to Marcus Graham by Judge Yankwich of the District Court of Southern Calif. The sentence, a six-month term of imprisonment for "contempt of court" when Graham refused to answer any of the questions asked him, was reversed on the sole ground of self-incrimination. The higher court, however, condoned the rulings of the lower court on the central issue of the case—the enforcement of a nineteen-year-old admittedly invalid deportation warrant. The Circuit Court also remanded the case to the District Court so that the latter may be able to determine which questions are incriminating. If Graham still persists in refusing to answer questions which the court does not consider self-incriminating, he will again be held in "contempt of court." We can clearly see that neither court has ceased its outrageous attack upon the freedom of thought and expression.

In the light of these "new" developments, we have decided to proceed immediately with the publication of the pamphlet dealing with every phase of the persecution undergone by the journal MANI and its editor, Marcus Graham. There will be no set price for the 20-page pamphlet; only voluntary contributions will be expected.

We again call upon every liberty loving individual to exert every effort possible in trying to arrange protest meetings in every city, town and university in the country. In order to prepare a schedule for meetings, we must have your immediate replies.

Once more we urge individuals, groups and organizations to send their protests to Miss Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C., and demand the immediate cancellation of the invalid 19-year-old deportation warrant against Marcus Graham and a stoppage of the campaign of persecution against Marcus Graham and the journal MANI.

In order to carry on our work effectively, we urge all those who can to send their financial contribution as soon as possible. An enormous sum alone is required to send a copy of the pamphlet to every known author, editor and educator in the country. The materializing of our intentions and the amplifications of our scope will depend upon YOUR material support.

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE
PRESS COMMITTEE,
P.O. Box 971, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

From Groups: Youth Group, Brooklyn, N. Y., share of affair—\$25.00; Gruppo I Refrattari, Detroit, share of affair—\$10.81; Kropotkin Group, Stelton, N. J.—\$5.00; Mohagan Colony Group through Bannister: Bogin—\$1.00; Sophie—\$2.50; a Friend—\$1.00; newspaper sale—\$0.50; Fra Compagni A Mezzo, Trenton, N. J.—\$4.50; Liberty Club, Haverhill—\$1.00; Libertarian Group, Allentown—\$1.00; Radical Library, Philadelphia—\$1.00.

Newspaper sales: Cella Goldberg—\$5.00; E. Michaels, England—\$2.65; Los Angeles—\$0.75.

Individuals: Five Dollars—L. L. Abell, J. Briganti; Two Dollars—Clyde W. Arble, Jean Civielli, Luigi Mazzali, Fredy Lazarotta, Gus Telch, M. Marraccini; One Dollar—J. Garden, R. I. Sweet, Anna Levin, D. Clark, J. Scarceriaux, E. M. Brenner, Harry Kelly, A. Martiguaga, Frank Repleg, Dominique Boquet, George E. MacDonald, K. M. Chan, Mary Milazo, S. Marletta, Peter Ness, Violet Brocoli, G. Tobia. Fifty Cents—Guy B. Askew, George Markstall; Forty Cents—John Kanchar.

TOTAL	\$102.11
BALANCE ON HAND	86.14
EXPENDITURES	\$188.25
BALANCE	109.70
	\$ 78.55

Pamphlet Fund

From affair in San Francisco	\$10.00
Previously acknowledged	45.45
	\$55.45

Solidarity Fund for Orphans of Anarchists Killed in Spain

On List of San Francisco Comrades	\$12.50
Previously acknowledged	17.50
	\$30.00

Santa Panta

On The Block

◆ We're on the air now. For your pleasure and approval we are going to present a scene from the greatest robbery of the year. It's taken from the famous story, "The Chamber-Lane Mystery."

Shh—, the Chief is talkin' . . .

"Now list'n you mugs, we've got to make this a clean job, get me? You, Trigger Benito, wait in the alley and don't make no commotion till you sees us comin'. You, Dolly-Deer, pretend you're as dumb as they make 'em if somebody gits suspicious. And you, Kid Mustachio, just stand there with the 45r loaded. When I gives the signal all yous guys start runnin' like you wuz crazy with the heat. Mustachio will then jump in and grab the bag . . . And remember, guys, if they try to get funny, let 'em have it . . ."

◆ A Miracle! A Miracle! The Lord has listened to His children's prayers and persuaded Hitler to accept Czechoslovakia so He could save the peace for them.

Isn't it wonderful what an old-fashioned prayer could do? . . .

◆ Incidentally, why did Chamberlain have to go to Hitler to hand Czechoslovakia over to him in person? Couldn't he send it to him by parcel post? . . .

◆ Say, Mr. Devil, did you appoint Senor Mussolini to be the mediator for peace? Gee, you're a funny guy. . .

◆ And by the way, have you read about the peace pact signed by Chamberlain and Hitler not to war against each other? Poor Chamberlain, every time Hitler will want a peace of territory he'll have a job hunting up another country for him. . .

◆ At any rate, we think a prostitute has more honor than an English politician. At least she sells her own stuff. . .

◆ Many inquiries reached our department whether it is true that Orangutans are throwing hand grenades in the Chinese war.

The silly people. Did they expect human beings to commit such folly? . . .

◆ And anyway, if Darwin were living now and saw how man and beast act like twin brothers, he'd have another point to prove his theory. . .

◆ Here is a Japanese report from the war front:

"A fierce battle raged. We have counted 480,000 Chinese killed and wounded. Our losses were one killed

and one and one-half wounded."

We don't doubt the veracity of the report, but if that rate continues, Japan won't have many customers left in China. . .

◆ And so 10,000 killed Japanese were enshrined, with Hiroito's promising them immortality for dying in the sacred duty as a soldier.

Well, if they believe it, it's all right with us. But if they'd have a little bit of sense they would at least demand a living wage before accepting the service. . .

◆ Isn't it funny that all candidates for election promise a "clean" government, yet when they go into office the cleaning department gets short of funds. . .

◆ What we can't understand about those Trotskyites is how do they know that Trotsky will make a better dictator than Stalin? . .

◆ In a masterful speech Mr. Roosevelt again threw in a bomb into the Fascist camp.

That, we suspect, will be followed by another cargo of bombs which Mr. Hull will deliver. . .

In Germany, despite the totalitarian regime, jokes about the leaders and the dictatorship circulate, and last week the following anecdote was being told around Berlin.

A teacher asked her pupils whether, in accordance with the rule, the Fuehrer's picture was in their homes. Three admitted that it was missing. Each had an explanation.

No. 1: "My father works in the Air Ministry, so we have Goering's picture hanging on the wall."

No. 2: "My father works in the Propaganda Ministry. We have Goebbels on our wall."

No. 3: "My father's in a concentration camp, but he says that when he comes out he is going to hang them all."

—New York Times

◆ Well, Christmas is coming so we may 'swell send a Christmas greeting to our patrons:

Cheer all you can
For the Savior's birth,
There's Goodwill in Man
And Peace on our Earth.
Yeah-man!

◆ When Santa Claus will meet our Santa Panta they'll sure burst out laughing. Both know they're bluffing about their real identity. . .

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

ELECTION COMMENTS

The moguls of the Grand Old Party are jubilant over the outcome of the November elections. Their gains in both houses of Congress and in many states throughout the country have convinced them that the "citizenry" is as stupidly eager to be fooled now as it has always been.

President Roosevelt, too, is satisfied with the outcome. The Communist Party, the American Labor Party, the Workers Party, the Lovestonites and the Socialist Party are all likewise elated over the political deals and the meager achievements of the Democratic Party whose candidates they wholeheartedly supported.

In the presidential election of 1940, Mr. Roosevelt will undoubtedly be "drafted" as the only available saviour of Tammany Hall as well as of all the children of Karl Marx.

Frankly speaking, the anarchist finds satisfaction in noting how the party of Tammany Hall has absorbed all the paternal parties that swear by Karl Marx. The matter of bringing our propaganda before the working class of the United States once again has become simplified. No longer do we need to point out the ultimate disastrous end which the political field brings to even the most sincere persons. The role played by the marxian socialist parties in the 1938 elections has done this job most excellently.

The real blank achievement of the Roosevelt regime was strikingly admitted by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace in his post-election statement:

"The outstanding conclusion from the election is that the people do not like business depressions. They think that by voting against the party in power when a depression is on, they can do something to cure the depression. They were voting against unemployment and low farm prices."

Are not these words familiar, and do they not remind one of similar statements made after the exit of Herbert Hoover? After six years of a "new deal for the forgotten man," one hears a cabinet member of this New Deal regime admit that we are now in the same state of destitution and injustice as we were in 1933!

The only other significant phase of the 1938 elections was the pension plan issue, with the California plan of 30-dollars-a-week to all unemployed "citizens" as the leading contender. These plans in themselves are encouraging signs of progress. They denote an emphatic assertion on the part of the people who, after having contributed the best part of their lives in the production of wealth, have a right to demand that they be at least fed and sheltered during their old age. The only dangers that lurk behind all these pension plans are the phase of racketeering carried on by its promoters and the increasing growth of fascist tendencies to achieve the short-cuts to "Utopia." But who, other than President Roosevelt and those who support him, can be blamed for letting the racketeering pension fascists thrive? For Roosevelt and his supporters have united in doing everything possible to safeguard and perpetuate the present order of exploitation and rulership.

ALL the roads of compromise lead to the growth of injustice. And it was from the manure heap of injustice that fascism in Italy and Germany germinated. The contributions made by the followers of Karl Marx towards the growth of fascism are clearly made evident by their tactics of compromise.

A COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY TRIAL IN SPAIN

After causing the disappearance of several outstanding P.O.U.M. (Unified Workers Marxian Party) members that were jailed by the loyalist government of Spain and whose ultimate fate has so far not been established, the loyalist regime has finally brought to trial a score of other renowned P.O.U.M. members.

The press reports of the trial were very meager. The little that did get by the censors brought out the following facts: the loyalist government refused a group of French attorneys to participate in the defence of the accused; Largo Caballero, first premier of the loyalist regime, testified as to the integrity of the accused, as did other noted political figures, including those of the C.N.T. The government brought forward army officials who testified against the accused by claiming that the latter were making deals with officers of Franco and had ordered soldiers to leave the battlefield in order to participate in the May uprisings of 1937, in Barcelona.

All but two of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Friends of the P.O.U.M. abroad have charged the loyalist regime with carrying on the whole series of persecutions that led to the outlawing of that party at the instigation

and behest of Moscow since the P.O.U.M. is said to have held Trotskyite leanings.

Those who have been concerned with everything that is going on in Spain cannot help but concur with the friends of the P.O.U.M.

The staged trial and sentencing of the P.O.U.M. spokesmen fully substantiates the charge against the loyalist regime.

The trial and sentencing of the P.O.U.M. spokesmen is more than a mere blot upon the loyalist government. It explains Franco's growing conquests of more and more territory and the failure of the people in these conquered territories to rise against Franco.

The persecution and suppression of the P.O.U.M. is not the only counter-revolutionary work that the loyalist government of Spain has been perpetrating.

Only in the last issue of MAN! we brought a document signed by 250 various political revolutionary victims of the same loyalist government who charged the latter with open murder of fellow-prisoners.

It is also a commonly known fact that a governmental censorship allows no mention of the continued imprisonment of hundreds of "uncontrollable" anarchists or of any other well meant criticism.

All such counter-revolutionary acts of the "loyalist" regime can but have one disastrous effect—the undermining of the revolutionary spirit of the people who are putting up so heroic a struggle against the fascist and democratic onlooking bandits of the world.

The C.N.T. (Anarcho-Syndicalist General Federation of Labor) and the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) cannot disclaim responsibility for the acts of suppression, oppression and censorship by the loyalist government. They may dislike the misdeeds of the government. But this is not sufficient. What are they doing to end these counter-revolutionary misdeeds?

The failure of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to act assures not only the same ultimate fate to themselves and to the general membership of both organizations, but it is also paving the way for enabling the loyalist government to conclude its greatest of all betrayals—a peace agreement with Franco!

It may as yet not be too late to save the heroic sacrifices of the people of Spain and, by so doing, save the social revolutionary gains achieved.

The counter-revolutionary misdeeds of the loyalist government in Spain must be stopped immediately. The C.N.T.

The *American Mercury*, once the most radical thought-provoking journal in America, has long since made for itself a new reputation—as the leading advocate of fascism. (Admirers of the staunch freethinker, Albert Jay Nock, have only been dismayed at noting how he continues collaborating in the *Mercury* as if nothing had ever happened to it.)

One of the *Mercury's* leading fascist pen-harlots is Harold Lord Varney, former I.W.W. editorial writer. In an article that he wrote for the issue of December, 1936, of the *Mercury*, he labeled the American Civil Liberties Union "Liberalism a La Moscow." As a result of this article, the Union sued the *Mercury* for \$50,000 damages. Before the case ever was to reach the courts both sides agreed to place the matter before H. L. Mencken, one of the founders and first editors of the *Mercury*, for arbitration.

In the issue of October, 1938, of the *Mercury*, Mr. Mencken rendered his findings. Mr. Mencken found no adequate support for Varney's charge that the Union was the dupe of Communists. Some of the more interesting comments made by Mr. Mencken read as follows:

"I find that, as a fact, he (Roger Baldwin, director of the ACLU), has sought on at least one occasion to set up a distinction between violations of civil liberties in this country and their violation in Russia. His argument is that here such acts 'are violations of professed and constitutional guarantees,' whereas in Russia they are 'weapons of struggle in a transition period of Socialism.' . . . I simply can't imagine any thoroughgoing friend of civil liberties acquiescing in it. If the bosses of Russia are free to suppress or abolish the common liberties of mankind in order to attain some chosen political end, then the bosses of the United States are free to do the same thing to attain some

and F.A.I. owe it to their ideal—as revolutionists—to do their utmost in bringing this about.

Today there may still be time to save the brave struggle of the people of Spain.

TOMORROW IT MAY PROVE TOO LATE.

ATHEISTS AND RELIGIONISTS

Religion, like the second oldest profession, has always been a well-paying trade—for its promoters.

In our own times we have had the late blatant faker, Billy Sunday, nightly preaching the "message of God" and diurnally debauching himself in champagne. We are not speaking of the manner in which he cleaned the pockets of his listeners. And here in "sunny California" we have Lady Aimee McPherson whose rivalry in debaucheries pales somewhat the now forgotten Billy Sunday.

Within the last few years there has arisen a new type of Religious saviour in the person of Dr. Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman. Unlike Billy Sunday or Lady McPherson, Dr. Buchman has been furrowing new grounds—the Universities of the United States and Great Britain. To befit his chosen pastures, Dr. Buchman has named his racket "The Oxford Group." Needless to state, he has been quite successful, especially in the lining up of nonentities.

At the present moment, Dr. Buchman is operating in Great Britain. According to "Time" magazine of September 19, 1938, he has lined up 33 members of Parliament, Earl Baldwin, the Marquis of Salisbury, Field Marshal Sir William Birdwood, Lord Chamberlain the Earl of Clarendon, Admiral of the Fleet the Earl of Cork and Orrey, the Earl of Lytton, Viscount Sankey, Lord Trenchard, Lord Stamp and the Laborites, Arthur Henderson, J. R. Clynes and John McGovern.

As by way of contrast, the same issue of "Time" carries, on the same page, an interesting account of the recently held Congress of the World Union of Free Thinkers. The speakers and endorsers of the Congress were H. G. Wells, Sigmund Freud, Havelock Ellis, George Bernard Shaw, C. E. M. Joad, G. D. H. Cole, J. B. S. Haldane, Bertrand Russell, Eduard Herriot and Somerset Maugham. Some of the subjects for discussion were: Science and the Churches; Youth, the Schools and Free Thought; Present Religious Reaction and the menace of the Vatican.

The personalities lined up behind the two opposite movements is in itself the strongest comment one could make on the Atheists and the Religionists.

Civil Liberties Union Put To A Test

other end. In brief, liberty becomes a mere gift from above, to be granted or withheld at will by the current repositories of power, a Hague is as free to destroy it as a Stalin.

"Certainly the Union does not stand on such a platform, if it is pledged to the doctrine that civil rights are fundamental in a civilized society, and irrevocable by any good process. This was the doctrine, that Mr. Baldwin entertained when he went to jail during the World War, and it is the doctrine that the Union must fight for today. . . . In the present case I see nothing unreasonable in asking the principal officers of the Union to clarify their position upon the principles for which the Union fundamentally stands. If, in fact, they or any of them admit doubts about the universal validity of the ordinary civil rights, then I think they should, in fairness to the organization, retire from office in it."

Printed in the same issue of the *Mercury* is a statement, signed by sixteen members of the Board of Directors of the Union, stating that it wishes to be judged by its record rather than by the personal views of its officers since "its Board of Directors and National Committee control its policies and make final decisions."

Mr. Mencken has stated the issues involved squarely and justly. The Board of Directors, by its evasive answer, is only sidetracking the all-important issue of consistency that Mr. Mencken has raised. No one can serve two masters at one time. If any officer of the Union condones the suppression of free thought in Marxian-ruled Russia as did Roger Baldwin, neither he, nor the Union, whose director he is, can consistently rise to defend freedom of thought in the United States.

In the issue raised by Mr. Mencken, the American Civil Liberties Union has failed the test.

What Brought Me To Anarchism?

In a society based upon the allurements of money and ruled by its dominating spirit, there cannot be any intelligent cooperation. The power of the centralized State is the blinding light which all those who aspire to command try to reach, its Budget is the hypnotizer of high finance, in a word, the State is the main blasting element of everything decent.

Indeed, look at the bottom, in a small village, see the unending requests for reduction in taxes, grants, relief, subsidies, and what not; all of them by people only interested in their personal welfare. On the other hand, the higher-ups. . . . No! It is of no use to insist. The direct corrupter is the State, the protector of all black legs, big swindlers and thieves.

Thus, these considerations have made an Anarchist out of me; as we used to say, they made me a libertarian communist aspiring to unite the communism of things with man's individual freedom.

Prof. Paul Reclus

And because of the above an efficient organization was started with the following aims: cooperation in work, distribution of products according to needs, and development of personality. We want to change the struggle of life to a higher sphere where there would no longer be any threats to the sources of our existence. The fight is to remain in industry, art, literature, science, and thought. Tolerance must prevail. No matter if our neighbor is mystic, bolshevik, Christian, bourgeois, or even fascist, so long as he is not inclined to the grasping of power and greedy for wealth, he will be with us. We have friends who have strong opinions contrary to ours, and who, nevertheless, are well-liked for some of their qualities that in an advanced society would render them perfect and ideal members. The most important thing is not to profess this or that

(Continued on Page Five, Col. One)

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: \$1.00 per year, 6 months-50c Sample Copies Free Upon Request.

MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address

MAN!

P. O. Box 971

Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN SPAIN?

Albert Yensen

(Concluding Article)

In countries where they attempted to use the State as an instrument for reform, in the hope it might lead to socialism, and later, through a gradual disappearance of the State, approach the free communism, in those countries dictatorship usurped the reformism of the State, as Germany, for example, and the result was—slavery. In countries where socialism is sacrificed in the hope of wresting certain reforms from capitalism, as in the Scandinavian lands, for example, the State there is looked upon, not as an institution that has to be eliminated, but, on the contrary, the State there is recognized as the highest symbol of "freedom." The truth is that in neither case do we have freedom, because freedom could not exist where there is a State.

Still, when the CNT-FAI joined the government, it nevertheless did not relinquish her opposition to the State. If I understand their motives correctly, the Spanish comrades seemed to think that by participating in the government it would contribute much towards defending the interest of the revolution. That means: principally accepting the social-democratic standpoint and thus renounce the idea of direct action, which is an important factor in the social conception of anarcho-syndicalism. Such a position compels us to accept the political system and abandon the thought of "direct action" as an approach to parliamentary-political action. This combination of direct and political action is really in conformity with social-democratic principles. It is important to note another factor which experience has taught us, namely this: in such instances direct action gradually becomes smothered in the political parliamentary action, with the result that the revolutionary tendencies are so evaporating that they die off from sheer inactivity.

At the beginning the CNT-FAI asserted its opposition to the State. They still believed that the State must be abolished. From a logical viewpoint such stand is incomprehensible. How can one oppose the State and at the same time accept that which he wants to abolish? The consequences following these tactics, naturally, proved their mark. We must face them as they really are.

In our opinion, the revolutionary process in Catalonia was, relatively speaking, very simple. If the Catalan State became so dismantled from its State's apparatus; if the control of the political and productive life came into the hands of the unions; if the whole government machine fell apart like an exploded balloon, then there was no logic in approving of the State, vesting it with a new power and a new spirit. Such approbation cannot be considered other than counter-revolution. A mortally wounded State took on new life, with the CNT-FAI consenting to participate in it. The deceased corpse—the State—was actually given new strength. He revived sufficiently for a new reliance on might. The blood transfusion which the CNT-FAI injected in the dying corpse evoked a new desire to govern, to become powerful, to rule over the masses. The CNT-FAI gave new life to an obnoxious creature.

The economic administration became a State institution. The same happened to the militia-committees. The refreshed blood of the ruling class revived the circulation in the veins of the State. The militia became militarized. The State opened an attack on the revolutionary workers' achievements. Free trading became a token for the profit-craving middle-class. The government systematically persecuted the collectives. Under the protection of the State the counter-revolutionary elements swarmed into their new, well-entrenched positions. The State, never having been a revolutionary element, but

quite the contrary—an instrument of the counter-revolution—became more fortified every day. And while the State grew stronger, the position of the revolutionary circles grew weaker. The State created a new police. The militia fell under government control—the workers had no more authority over it. Growing more powerful with every day, the State then became the enemy of the social revolution.

Naturally, the CNT-FAI found itself in such a tight-squeeze that it was really difficult to act with certainty. It was a thousand times easier to criticize than be sure of what is to follow. I want this to be understood:

The Spanish anarcho-syndicalist comrades are not isolated within their own State, but are in a system of States in which we all live and propagate our ideas. That means, the Spanish working class is not able to strike back at the ruling class all by itself. If that shouldn't be the case, the whole problem would have been very simple. This fact must be considered: The Spanish comrades are fighting, not only against their own exploiters, but also against international Fascism, which is being supported by international capitalism. They are struggling, not only against the Spanish regular army, against Spanish fascists, against Moroccan legions, but also against Italian-German armies having behind them the mighty States of Italy and Germany. Aside from that we must consider the "blockade," which had been purposely organized against Spain, under the false pretense of "non-intervention." This blockade is being sanctioned by the Socialist movement. No one heeds the call for action forthcoming from the international anarcho-syndicalist movement.

It fell upon the lot of the Spanish proletariat to struggle all by itself against a vicious, mighty international enemy. Under such conditions the CNT-FAI had to act in this manner so as to avoid internal dissension in the anti-Fascist groups of Spain; it, therefore, was obliged to unite and cooperate with all other elements in warring against international Fascism. That was, generally speaking, the desperate position towards which the CNT-FAI had to adopt her tactics and her actions.

It seems we could understand, more or less, their position. It is possible that we cannot embrace the enormous task of the issues involved. The fact, nevertheless, remains that by the CNT-FAI participating in the government it gave the State and the enemies of the revolution new strength. The enemy of the working class was aided in establishing its instrument of power called state. The State concentrated all counter-revolutionary forces and led them against the revolution so as to strangle it. This leads to the conclusion that the revolutionary movement helped the executioner to assassinate the revolution.

To recognize the State in a certain period of distress as a necessary evil in one thing, but to take an active part in her work and by so doing to help organize the counter-revolutionary forces is an entirely different story. To us, as to all outlandish comrades, it is absolutely incomprehensible. If it was necessary at first to abandon the State, the CNT-FAI at least should not have helped it to get on its feet again. It seems to us that our Spanish comrades would have gained more, and could have better defended their cause as well as the revolutionary gains, by staying out of the government. By marching forward with organized strength and pursuing their own plans they could have maintained control over the most essential life-needs of the land—industry and agriculture.

Many of the outlandish comrades are beset by the thought that if it weren't possible, at an opportune moment, to concentrate the revolutionary forces against the bourgeois State, wasn't it possible to create a new revolutionary force by convoking a union of workers, peasants and soldiers? Wouldn't it have prevented the power from returning into the hands of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie? Wouldn't such a union be strong enough to mobilize around it the masses of workers and peasants, who could have created a new mode of life for all revolutionary forces that really were striving for a social change? Wouldn't such revolutionary appeal have lured away many followers from the UGT bureaucrats? Wouldn't it have been possible to go over the heads of the UGT bureaucrats, who later, through intriguing, prevented a united front? Wouldn't it have been possible to attract chiefly the peasant masses and thus lay the revolutionary foundation, which would have nullified every form of counter-revolutionary sabotage? Wouldn't the anarcho-syndicalists then be in a position to assume the leading and persuading influence which would enable them to form their own dominating order?

All revolutions and revolutionary attempts after the World War have been suppressed and obliterated from existence because of the interference by powerful states and governments. That happened even where socialists had control of the government apparatus, or else, where they have established their own form of government.

The Russian revolution brought with it a new State, which was supposed to give warning to the bourgeois class not to be a stumbling block to the revolutionary development. Today we are already familiar with the results. There is probably no country in the world where freedom has been so curtailed as in Russia. Feudal slavery has been changed to state slavery. The economic structure which has shaped itself there is not socialism, but state capitalism. The State has in its

power the workers and peasants under such conditions that sees no equal in the whole of Europe. The new State has destroyed socialism. A change in the Russian system can probably take place with the aid of a new revolution—only then would the authoritative State be wiped out.

In Germany, as another example, social democracy came to power after the Revolution of 1918. When certain revolutionary elements wanted to extend the revolution in Germany also to the economic life, the State again stepped in and saved the capitalist order. After that they embarked on the road of "democracy" and reform. Here again the revolution was destroyed by Socialism. This condition prevailed until Fascism completely liquidated the labor movement—that same Fascism against which our heroic Spanish comrades are now struggling.

There are no differences of opinion with regards to the present regime in Spain. The CNT herself brands it as counter-revolutionary. We shall not err if we will look upon the Negrin government as an instrument of the liberal English-French capitalism, which is helping in the reconstruction of the capitalist system in Spain. Negrin assured English-French capitalism that Republican Spain will not impair the privilege of private ownership. It is quite obvious that the Spanish regime is not only counter-revolutionary but is dictatorial as well. The systematic sabotage going on in the collective enterprises, the decrees against collectivization in general, are vivid symbols of the counter-revolutionary march that goes forward with the aid of the State, using its acquired position as a telling force.

But, did not the CNT-FAI help to create this condition? Did she not, by giving approbation to state and government and by reestablishing the aspect of the authoritative system in the eyes of the masses? Is not the insolence with which the counter-revolution is systematically threatening a result of the CNT-FAI tactics?

They tell us: The co-working of the CNT-FAI, due to the civil war, was absolutely necessary. But was it necessary to collaborate in the government? And if it had to be so why didn't the Spanish comrades openly proclaim to the government that after the CNT-FAI was first to enter the battlefield, first to organize a defense and to win the first victories, it will loyally work in the government in her war against Fascism, but under no circumstances will they permit an attack on the revolutionary accomplishments, which they are ready to defend with all their might?

I think such stand would have evoked greater respect from the bourgeoisie, as it did by their participating in the government and becoming co-makers of laws which the counter-revolution used to sentence many of our comrades to prison terms varying ten years and over for revolutionary activities. At any rate, it proves to me that the theses of anarcho-syndicalism, which proclaim that the strength of the working class is not vested in his political representatives, but in his own organizations and in his capability for action—these theses are as good now as they have been in their original declaration.

Do not the developments in Spain prove that the government gladly accepted the aid from the revolutionary power so as to establish law and order, but just as soon as the counter-revolution entrenched its position it immediately has driven out the CNT-FAI representatives from government ranks?

We all know that the Spanish comrades who hold responsible positions thought well before accepting them, and that they also had sound motives for their action. Still it remains for us to really understand the causes that forced our comrades to serve in the government—first in the Catalan and later in the central government of Madrid. We have the greatest desire to understand it and we think it would be of great importance to our movement if our Spanish comrades would endeavor to make us understand, as clearly as possible, their motives and actions.

(English version from the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" by S. Polinow)

Contest and War

To play is a natural instinct. In play the individual tests his powers. The spirit of Sport is born in contest. Fair play, "a fair field and no favor", a "square deal" are the distinctive features of sport, and its contest engenders no bitterness. Conflict, on the other hand, altho likewise a test of power, is not the test of the individual. Conflict supplants contest when the individual advocates his own initiative, and subjects his powers to some sovereign or master. The master, king, or sovereign seeks to test the powers he can thus command; and in doing this he seeks to extol his power to acquire the combined powers of other individuals. Free men—men who are conscious of their individuality contest in sport. Bondsmen, who merge their individuality in the "glory" of a master, hoping to somehow share the "glory" of him upon whom they lean, engage in conflict. In Sport men contest and part as friends. In the service of a master the servant-class engage in conflict because hostility of the slave type of mind is the natural reaction of submission to rulership. War is sure to continue among peoples as long as rulership persists. Their periods of peace will always be merely preparations for wars, always in the hope that the warriors will be permitted to share in the master's "glory". Men who acknowledge no masters do not engage in war.

Herman Kuehn

What Brought Me to Anarchism?

(Continued from Page Four)

doctrine, but to see that our daily conduct is consistent with the aim and thesis we represent, that is a society based upon mutual aid.

However, tolerance will not prevail towards institutions which are founded upon a blind hierarchy exalting inequality through wealth and submission; they only cause demoralization. In all circumstances we tolerate and even join our efforts to the ones whose activities are likely to bring about more freedom, more well-being, and above all, a broader intelligence to man.

Yet, no matter what we do, there will inevitably come a time when we shall be compelled to change our step and jump. All our repudiations of violence will not stop us from refusing to submit to the crushing of the weak before our very eyes. We are revolutionary.

Again, referring to education, we can assert that the pressure that determined the progress of the primary school is independent of our ideas, it may not be out of place to recall the fact that 60 years ago an authentic Anarchist, James Guillaume, was one of the most active workers and advisers in the campaign for the compulsory school system.

Yes, there is a general evolution following the trend of ideas originated by us. As for instance, the respect due the child's individuality, our wish to see youth shape its own personality, and the abhorrence of a system of education that fills the brain as if it were a sack of corn, an abhorrence pointed out at the beginning of our propaganda. All in all, the pressure of our thought will bring about intelligent cooperation in a society based upon mutual aid: Anarchism.

(From "Synthese d'un Individu" in "Plus loin" by J. S.)

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.—JOHN MILTON.

AS TO ANTI-FASCIST FASCISM

Editor of MAN!:

I had the surprise of my life when reading in the November issue of MAN! an accusation by Albert Meltzer that I am advocating a sort of "anti-fascist fascism" in dealing with the subject of combatting the Fascist menace.

Where our friend got this notion I really am at a loss to know. Presumably he alludes to an article of mine, "How to Combat Fascism Nazism" (June, 1938), in which I stressed the fact that if we want to preserve our freedom we must defend ourselves against the attacks by Fascism. Does that mean I am advocating a kind of fascism? If we should in this manner interpret a defense against barbarism and oppression then we ought to brandmark our comrades of the CNT-FAI also as fascists, for they actually defend their liberty with armed resistance. Furthermore, upon reaching such a conclusion it would be only logical that we declare all revolts against oppression taboo, because a revolution sometimes postulates the use of armed force.

To be sure, the correspondent does not completely oppose a defense, but he would rather adopt "a more reasonable program" to stop aggression, namely, the employing of the boycott on oil, arms, etc. I agree with him. As a matter of fact, I have time and again strongly urged (in several articles) for the labor movement to adopt this method of combatting fascist aggression. Unfortunately, international labor remains dormant, while beastly Fascism keeps marching on, crushing the working class in its wake.

What does our friend expect us to do, lay down and permit the Fascist dogs club us to death?

Nevertheless I am willing to make a deal with our friend Meltzer: Let him induce the International Working-Men's Association to declare a general boycott on all arms manufactured and shipped to the Fascist countries and I shall then withdraw my suggestion for an armed defense. The bargain would be mine, of course, for it would then be no need for such a thing . . .

SAMUEL POLINOW

A LETTER FROM THE GOLD MINE AREA

I have not written to you for some time regarding the labor situation here as everything is apparently very quiet and very little activity.

The excitement last spring did some good in one sense as the mine owners improved the working conditions in the mines, which makes it better for the loyal slaves who cooperate with their enemy in getting out gold which is turned over to a capitalistic state and held in trust for the multi-millionaires of the world in order that they may enslave mankind.

The worldwide situation, as I see it, we have capitalism the world over, and whether it be called Nazism, Fascism, Communism or Democracy, they are all subjects of capitalists and capitalism and the state is only a tool that serves their express purpose. At the present time they are all crying: down with Hitler! I myself look on him as an inhuman beast. He may look like a human being but he proves himself to be a beast of the lowest order. But the source of the real evil is the power behind him, that uses him to put their program over.

Germany, as has been said, was bankrupt and could not finance a war. So high finance takes over the situation and agrees to furnish him with all the equipment necessary to serve their purpose. The same can be said of any state at the present time.

The state is only a tool which serves the purpose of the international bankers, and politicians are only flunkies that serve their express purpose. Human life is given no consideration when they, the bankers, want to retain their stolen wealth or to expand their wealth, and the existing governments cooperate with them to put their program over.

A CORRESPONDENT

A NEW-STYLE SPELLING POET WRITES

Dear Mr. Graham:

this belated note thanking you for your favor of september in acknowledging the receipt of my manuscripts it was only a few days later that i received the september issue of man! and was so thoroughly interested in it that i had intended writing you at the moment and congratulating you on its excellence mr. havel had certainly done an excellent job during the time he had the paper in hand but with its return to you it was of course old times i will be frank however that i am not fully in accord with the cause you sponsor i am just as sure however—considerably surer as a matter of fact in view of materializations of recent months—that i am not fully in accord with the cause sponsored by the communist party (you are possibly aware of the fact that wm phillips & phillip rhav were expelled some time ago from the party largely because of the editorial policy of their magazine, the partisan review also the new masses has perpetrated some underhanded deals in their—phillips' & rhav's—behalf) conscientiously i am a communist this is easy enough to understand when one is informed that i am a christian and an intellectual but the communist party here just as much of the activities of the anarchists in spain are not really true to what they are supposed to stand for the only thing open to be done is for those true to the cause to denounce those that are not you have been doing this the partisan review has been doing this for this reason each

of you in your own catagory should be highly commended and not only that but supported by honest people throughout the world in spite of what their creed at the moment might be.

the foremost issue is honesty or deception yours very truly,
J. C. CREWS

TO ALL COMRADES IN THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE

THE letter given below was sent to SPAIN AND THE WORLD in order to rectify a statement which appeared in that paper in a previous issue. The Editor refused to publish it and justified his refusal by the remark:

"There are so many vital matters which deserve all our attention and all our energies that the details in Nettlau's article concerning someone who is dead—not even alive, mark you—is surely rather a waste of time . . ."

Strange how history is written, even by so astute a comrade as M. Nettlau, who could have acquainted himself—had he wished to do so with the true facts of the "Keell v. 'Freedom Group' controversy.

But stranger still, and sadly to be regretted, is it to find such lack of a sense of fair-play in the Editor of a paper devoted to the interests of our Spanish comrades—the very people to whom the names and teachings of Kropotkin, Tcherkesoff, Reclus and others, though dead, are an ever living source of inspiration in their heroic fight for Liberty and Justice. After giving so much space to an article devoted to "dead" T. Keell, the Editor's sense of fair-play did not prompt him to give a little space for insertion of a brief statement showing the one-sided presentation of the facts as given in Nettlau's article—a statement signed by comrades who have at least shown their sincerity for the Cause as much as the subject of the article in question.

O Liberty! O Truth!

To the Editor of "SPAIN AND THE WORLD":

In your issue of July 15th there appears an article by M. Nettlau, containing a statement concerning the FREEDOM Group, which requires correction.

At the death of the then Editor of FREEDOM, Alfred Marsh, who for many years had devoted his time and money to the paper, Keell, who was manager and printer, also tried to get the editorship of the paper. We, old members of the Freedom Group, naturally did not want to see the entire control of our paper slip into one man's hands. Up to that time FREEDOM had published side by side articles expressing the various opinions of the comrades on the war. Seeing his failure to be made editor, Keell explained it to be due to his anti-war opinions. He then "saved" the paper by seizing the "Freedom" plant, and assumed the role of being a victim of "pro-war" comrades

Leadership and Freedom

(Re-discussion on Reflections on Liberty)

Dear Graham:

Today I should like to take up the concept of leadership and freedom. In part I think you are right: the centralized order makes "leadership" necessary; stated in other terms competition leads to centralization of power and concentration of wealth, no matter what the ideology behind it. Whether it is the Roman Catholic Church, Russian Communism, German National Socialism or what not, the structure of all these centralized schemes is identical. To wit: The supreme authority, the dogma as authority, the hierarchy, the special law, constraint of conscience, democracy within the hierarchy, the index purgatorius, etc., etc., the dialectic. The dialectic constitutes the struggle between the good and the evil. The Good is "I," the evil art "Thou." For the scheme is competitive. Therefore, we need the constant purge. This kind of leadership is dictatorial and based upon force.

The question is: Is there another kind of leadership and authority possible, not based upon force? I say yes. Take an eminent artist, an eminent scientist or philosopher. Would they not influence their fellowmen? If they would not, they would not be eminent. The difference now is that they would not force their authority upon others, but that others would follow their ideas; education and therefore progress would not be possible in any other way, but would be futile. The equality here is not one of achievement, but solely of status. Please keep that well in mind. Equality of status is necessary for any decent society, it is the fundament of a cooperative society. Equality of achievement is evidently not even desirable. For each individual in a free society should determine his own ends, which, whatever else they are, must have a social purpose. But in themselves they must or should differ. Suppose I should

AFFAIR IN AID OF "L'ADUNATA" IN NEW YORK

On Sunday, December 11, 1938, at 4 p.m. sharp, the Filo-dramatica Giovanile will present "War Brides" (in English) in the Arlington Hall, 19-23 St. Marks Place, between Second and Third Avenues. The entire proceeds go for "L'Adunata dei Refrattari."

All the readers of MAN! are invited.

such as Kropotkin, Tcherkesoff, Reclus, Grave, Turner, etc. In this he was successful with comrades like Nettlau, who was not on the spot at the time. Therefore Nettlau's opinion does not surprise us at all. Nevertheless we must protest against the misrepresentation of facts.

Moreover, we should like to remind Nettlau—for he seems to overlook the fact—that the FREEDOM "pro-war" comrades, as he calls them, did not love war any more than our Spanish comrades (who are now actually engaged in a most heroic fight) love war, but merely because they are united with the rest of the people and are bent on defending the cause of Freedom and independence in Spain and the achievements gained by Revolution and sacrifice.

(Signed): W. WESS G. CORES
F. TCHERKESOFF D. WESS

(The protest is printed as a matter of the principle which recognizes the freedom of both sides to be heard in any arisen controversy.

The protestants' attempt to compare the pro-ally war anarchists' action in a war between capitalist powers to that of our Spanish comrades in rising against the war brought upon them by fascism is, to say the least, taking too much for granted.—EDITOR.)

Editor "MAN!":

25-10-38.

Greetings!

Permit me to correct some statement that appeared in "MAN!" from the pen of my friend and comrade, Harry Kelly, in reference to the late Tom Keell.

To say that the difference of opinion in regard to the war "resulted in a split that left Keell alone" is as incorrect as the statement published at the time from Keell's side that Kropotkin threatened to sack him on account of his views. The fact was that after Marsh's death in spite of repeated requests to call a meeting Keell hesitated and when the Tcherkesoffs convened a meeting of all the old Freedom Group members Keell simply declared he did not recognize Mrs. Hyde, Miss Roche, Turner, and all our efforts to reconcile him by suggesting an editorial committee to work with him proved of no avail. It suited his book to declare us all as pro-war, and with the keys and property of Freedom, Commonweal and Torch he appointed himself Autocrat.

W. WESS

FREEDOM

There is nothing in the world worth while but freedom. This is the solution of all questions, the settlement of all difficulties. It is the only truth the natural law recognizes. . . . All perplexities vanish before it—all mists are cleared away. Such progress as we have attained, political, social, cultural, are its offspring. Its children are the children of light, its fruit are the fruits of plenty. No matter with what persuasiveness, nor with what sonorous utterances, the contrary may be uttered, the law of Freedom will not be denied.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER

become a student of physiology, and another one of geology. Certainly both of us should be entirely unequal as far as our respective fields of knowledge were concerned, for I should know little of geology, and he of physiology. The same is true of our relations with the students. They would not be our equals as far as knowledge is concerned.

Furthermore there is the difference in individual endowments to be considered, as also in temperament and stamen. No, men are not equal, nor should they be, but their status should be equal, which is possible only in a cooperative society.

The anarchists are by far too much afraid of organization. Their conceptions are the result of a fear complex. And fear is a bad counselor. Let us get rid of fear. We want a free society, which must be built upon confidence.

I have, therefore, never been able to see that we can get along without some kind of government. Nor that we should. If all government has been based upon force in the past and is so now, it does not mean that it must be so based in the future. It is the attitude which counts. As I see it, we must take politics out of government, and transform it into a research institution, an agency of intercommunication and adjustment. Whether we ever shall be able to do without it, we cannot know at this time, it may well be possible. I am convinced, however, we cannot do so now, but we must transform it into an agency which does not depend upon force but upon recommendation. If we have today a bureaucratic and to an extent autocratic government the fault lies entirely with us. In this community for instance I have tried for several years to establish a community council composed of all organizations, to have a local farmers' and laborers' organization, etc. But although the idea seemed desirable to quite a number of people we have not yet succeeded. The reason is opposition in certain quarters, and my absence, but mainly indifference on the part of the public. The public is apathetic as you know, and if set free today they would not know what to do with themselves. These are plain facts. To reconstruct society we need to base ourselves upon realism, not upon fancy. The ideal of a free society can be realized only by steps; a free society is not a society free from external restraint, for that is rather meaningless, it is a society composed of people who have been consciously educated toward that freedom; who have learned to discipline and to control themselves through cooperatively organized work-activities.

F. Wertgen

ART and LITERATURE

HELL

Susie, jobless and hungry, walked the streets . . . John, married and father of a two-year-old son, also jobless and hungry, pounded the streets trying to raise twenty-five dollars for a sick kid.

His dad was broke and jobless. So were his brothers and his wife's relatives.

He had been reared in North Fort Worth, behind the stockyards.

Up there all sorts of things can happen. Harpies walk the streets and bohunks talk in the strange language of the Balkans. Susie was a Greek who had slung hash down on Twenty-fifth street until times got hard and the Italian who ran the place let her out and hired another girl, a Rumanian, who would work for a few dollars less a month.

Susie and John had never met . . . not until tonight. Both were walking the streets as a brittle Texas northerner out down from the Panhandle.

"Where you goin', kid," Susie said, soliciting men for the first time in her life. "How about spendin' some money?"

John laughed.

Susie frowned.

John laughed louder.

Susie got very mad and stared at her tormentor.

"But why are you laughin'?" she snapped. "I'm hungry and I am cold and I aint got a job . . . that's why I'm a prostitute . . . that's why I'm a vag . . ."

"I was laughing because it is a good joke," John replied. "A good joke for a dame to try and get money out of me . . ."

"Whv?" demanded Susie.

"Well, I'm flat broke and aint got a job and I've got a wife and sick kid," John replied. "I passed a meeting house back there and the damned preacher was talking about hell . . . well, hell is across the street in a tenement house where a kid is cryin' fer milk and there aint any to give . . . hell aint in the hereafter . . . it's right here on earth . . . let them church folks sing about the 'sweet by and by' all they want to . . . I want some of the sweet 'now and now.'"

There was a crash.

Susie and John reached through the broken window and grabbed meat and bread from the grocery display and fled.

"Work of two hardened criminals," detectives said after studying the fingerprints. "Two hardened crooks . . . must have been window smashers for years . . .!"

William Allen Ward

POEMS

*The charge of spirit in the clean airplanes
Nosing starred ethers, conquerors of space,
And the ease of automobiles warming the
Winds, and sharp trains, all swallowing soul in the
grimace*

*Of antique ignorance and churches with their closet
staleness*

Which have bled and blistered humanity—

*There are hovels in poison air and neighborhoods
Cornered in filth with withering stems and flowers to be
Under bright spirit the putrefying pit of the world
The wars of wealth and the fearsers of life.*

VINCENT FERRINI.

THE WATERS WE SAIL

1.

*They launched her in the bloody o' the greeny sea;
And put on tiny cargoes—
That is you and me.*

*They told us steer our course straight
They told us! Who are they?
When they forgot the rudder
To guide us on our way.*

2.

*Destiny's children we are;
Sailing an uncharted course
In the meantime,
Out of endless hope and burning desire,
We fashion an invincible rudder.*

DAVID TOBIN

JOURNEY

*Here we meet at the crossroads, you and I,
And for one moment are alone together;
I think how young and beautiful you are,
But mumble stupidly about the weather.
I know where violets bloom in yonder dell,
And I would like to twine them in your hair;
I know where roses bud on mountain high,
But never yet was rose as you so fair.
Come let us journey for a space together,
And I will tell you of the fair, far land,
Where if you wished, we might, now and
forever,
Walk through the worlds unnumbered, hand
in hand.*

*I have grown old in waiting for this moment,
Now I am young in knowing you are here;
Hate, war, death, every evil vanquished,
Since love has banished fear.*

VERNE D. ROWELL

Book Reviews

YOU CAN'T DO THAT—A survey of the forces attempting, in the name of patriotism, to make a desert of the Bill of Rights. By GEORGE SELDES. MODERN AGE BOOKS, NEW YORK. 50c.

This book should be used as a reference by every liberal and radical. It contains proof of the many tendencies toward denial of American liberties by those who at the same time profess to be the only true Americans. The individual radical may know instances in his own community where liberty has been violated but may not have the facts concerning like happenings elsewhere.

As the notorious Mrs. Dilling has listed all shades of reds indiscriminately in her scatter-brained "Red Network," and as Challeux of the American Legion Americanization Committee has listed known pacifist groups as communistic without knowing one from another, it is well that radicals should not make the same mistake in their estimation of ultra-conservative groups. The reporter and the author may at times print incorrect information. This reviewer happens to know that the report given by Seldes on the Nick Bins case is true in every detail. The value of a community which has a liberal background as contrasted with one which is pro-fascist is illustrated in the difference between the American Legion groups in Racine and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In Racine the Legion condoned kidnapping of radicals. In Milwaukee the commander of the Legion asked that the public Auditorium be granted to the Communists for a meeting. In Milwaukee the Legion refused to cooperate with the Law and Order League. The tradition in Milwaukee has been one of tolerance.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the book is the 46 page indexed bibliography of literature on freedom. At least it is the most needed factor in a study of this question. To the readers of MAN! the quotation at the head of the chapter on Law versus Liberty taken from Rousseau is timely:

"Laws are always useful to those who own, and injurious to those who do not . . . Laws gave the weak new burdens, and the strong new powers; they irretrievably destroyed natural freedom, established in perpetuity the law of property and inequality, turned a clever usurpation into an irrevocable right, and brought the whole future race under the yoke of labor, slavery and misery . . . All men were created free, and now they are everywhere in chains."

GLASS HOUSES . . . TEN YEARS OF FREE LANCING, By CARLETON BEALS. J. B. LIPPENCOTT CO., N. Y., 1938. \$3.00.

This book, dealing with just the right mixture of personal misfortunes, observations of places and people, and a keen evaluation of the part murder has played at the hands of meddling politicians and oil magnates in the history of Mexico is interesting reading. His adventures in Spain help one to understand the two extremes—the freedom-loving and the independent people—and the priest ridden people.

The description of an old Inca law might well be considered in these times of poverty among millions of people. "If any person was caught stealing food, the local representative of the Emperor was imprisoned for allowing anyone in his district to go hungry."

We often think of Mexico as a land of murder and intrigue held in check only by military force. Beals describes a police strike in Mexico City for twenty-four hours where only two minor crimes occurred. Law and order did not thus depend upon the police. The place of Carranza, Obregon and Dwight Morrow in the history of Mexico is given, as also the use of Lindbergh's Goodwill Flight to cover up Dollar Diplomacy.

His sojourn in Italy for two years is climaxed by his visit to Gombo Beach on the 100th anniversary of the time when Shelley drowned there. The ignorant guards now stationed because this was a part of the estate of the King, did not know of the name of Shelley and, of course, thought Beals crazy when he bribed them to allow him to commune with the spirit of Shelley. The author quotes the following from Prometheus:

"To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy power which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor flatter nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free.
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory."

THE MEN I KILLED. By BRIGADIER GENERAL FRANK PERCY CROZIER, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. DOUBLEDAY, DORAN & CO., N. Y., 1938. \$2.50.

In this book written by a veteran of the Boer and World Wars who saw life in the trenches and not from

OBSESSION

*Searching in vain for true Liberty,
The longing herds of humans come,
Finding it never! Where can it be?
Heart aching, brain weary, voice dumb!
A solemn emblem promised to me
Perfect, enduring Liberty.
Sadly I am searching, where can it be?
Fantastic will-o-wisp. LIBERTY!*

August 29, 1938

DOROTHY FAY

an observation post in the rear, we find the dedication to:

"The genuine fighters of all nations who stuck it to the end in the front line, and to the genuine conscientious objectors of all nations who stuck it to the end in jail, this book is dedicated."

The author tells of shooting his own men to stem a retreat, and states that one of the most powerful arguments for keeping the men in an advance toward the enemy is the certain knowledge that if they halt they will be shot by their officers.

This book is written by a General who at the close of the war turned pacifist and took an active part in the anti-war movement in England. He pays generous tribute to individual C.O.'s whom he knew, but feels that in the next war C.O.'s will be shot instead of being sent to prison. His criticism of international police and blundering politicians whose mistakes caused the death of thousands is based on first-hand experiences.

He shows how the Lewis gun, tanks and other modern methods of warfare were sneered at by the stupid army class in charge. He does not prefer to take their promises of the proper means for defense in the next war. In fact, he states that there is no such thing as defense in the future, quoting Sir Wm. Beveridge:

"In the last war families waited for bad news about their fighting men in the trenches; in a new war men may await for bad news about their families at home."

This book is not as well written or as logical as that of Richard Gregg in his "Power of Non-Violence." But there is no pussyfooting on the part of the General. He means what he says. He seems to be so angry at the hypocrisy of the Government which hired him as a killer and at the Church which blessed his murder that his style of writing is hampered by his emotion. He quotes the Tolstian indictment of Church and State as given by William Lloyd Garrison. On the whole, the book is the first and the best ammunition against war produced by a military man.

* * *

MY LIFE AS A REBEL, By ANGELICA BALABANOFF. HARPERS, N. Y., 1938. \$3.50.

"If I believed in the worth of the Third International I would not be here. I would be in Moscow," said Comrade Balabanoff recently during a lecture in answer to a communist questioner who had tried to get her to commit herself to the party line of collective security. Thus the first Secretary of the Third International proves her sincerity, foresight and courage by being about the only living radical of importance who left Russia with the blessing of Lenin, seeing that the bureaucracy then being established was not the revolution for which she had planned.

In fact, the summary which she gives expresses the idea very well: "Corruption, extortion, betrayal . . . Bolshevism identifies itself more and more with the methods of fascism."

At the age of 17 she left her wealthy home in Russia and entered the Universite Nouvelle in Brussels where she met and listened to the lectures of the anarchist, Elisee Reclus. She says of him: "His life was a daily exemplification of his views." Although she states that she could not accept the theory of anarchism she respected Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and gladly introduced them to Lenin, who stated to her that he was anxious to see them as he had read Berkman's pamphlet with "immense interest," underscoring the word "immense" three times. A letter which Berkman had written to her was received three days after his death. In personal conversation with this reviewer Comrade Balabanoff expressed her admiration for the life and ideals of Comrade Berkman.

The author was well acquainted with the left wing leaders of the German radical movement, and gives the well known truth which with the changed party line of the Communists is generally forgotten today, that: "In Germany the working class defeat was due almost wholly to division and demoralization in the years preceding 1932 and the communist line of 'social fascism' which made impossible any kind of united front . . . a great many new Communist voters deserted to the Nazi ticket in 1932."

The outstanding testimony in this book which makes it of great importance today is the first hand information which brands Mussolini, by one who knew him well for years, as a coward, traitor and infamous liar. She quotes Mussolini as saying to her:

"I am afraid of trees, of dogs, of the sky as well as of my shadow. I am afraid of everything, of everybody and—of myself . . . You know I am crazy. What madhouse will take me in when I am completely insane?"

Mussolini was the very one who advocated the most violent measures and then claimed credit for saving Italy from those who had not been as radical as he—when his Fascists made a bid for power. The author was present when Mussolini protested his faithfulness to death in his Socialist ideals of brotherhood and peace when at that moment he had the contract in his pocket whereby he had accepted from the French patriot, Marcel Cachin—now a French Communist leader—the bribe to write pro-war editorials in *Avanti!*—the anti-war Socialist daily, and to desert the cause of peace.

Many books can be read once in a library, but this book is a human document worth purchasing and having for oneself to reread.

Ammon A. Hennacy

MANIFESTO OF LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE

In a world half-mad and wholly chaotic, emotion supplants reason, and the good, the intelligent and the humane side of men and women is drowned in a sea of lies, ignorance and cruelty until men seeking freedom and well-being for all grow discouraged or apprehensive for the future of civilization. The war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy has developed a callousness unbelievable twenty-odd years ago. From time immemorial non-combatants—women, children and old men—were considered immune from attack by the opposing forces in war; today they are ruthlessly sacrificed, and the sacrifice condoned by Cardinals of the Catholic Church, the perpetrators of the outrage lauded as Christian gentlemen, and a whole people like the Jews are stripped of their possessions and thrust out to starve in a manner the much maligned Red Indian would have scorned to emulate. If these statements seem exaggerated or overdrawn we, like the radio broadcaster, say "for further details read your daily newspapers."

In our own dear country, the richest in the world, with untold wealth in the shape of natural resources, factories, mills, mines, ships, railroads, aeroplanes and technical skill undreamed of a few decades ago, government research informs us that one-third of the population exist on \$471 per year, for a family of 4.6 persons, that is, less than \$2.00 a week per person for everything—food, clothing shelter, etc.—a sum far below the standards set by Boards of Health all over the land. While this is done millions rot away in enforced idleness, denied the opportunity to work and earn a living for their families and themselves.

Thinking men and women all over the world are puzzled at the contradiction in terms, of want in the midst of plenty. Humane and liberty loving individuals seek, and seek vainly, for a remedy for a social order that starves and degrades the individual until we have the monstrous contrast of the inflated ego of dictators on the one hand and the almost total destruction of the will power of the great mass on the other. Power over others corrupts and degrades the ruler, lack of power over oneself degrades and ultimately destroys the ruled. Power over the lives of others has changed a paper-hanger, the son of a blacksmith, and a peasant into murderers and developed in them a cruelty that will ultimately destroy themselves, the Hitlers, Mussolinis, the Stalins and the lesser dictators; and submission to this power will first degrade and then destroy those whom they rule. In a lesser sense a humane and intelligent man like President Roosevelt is guilty of the same offence for he knows as well as we do that depriving men and women of the inalienable right to work and exercise their creative faculties is starving them mentally, as well as physically, yet he continues to do it in order to uphold a system that stands self-condemned in the eyes of intelligent and humane men and women. Responding to the cries of the ruling class of the country two years ago that he balance the budget he cut down work and direct relief to give business a chance to restore prosperity and in so doing crucified great masses of people. In other words, he proved his contention that business would not or could not restore prosperity at the cost of human suffering. Need it be said that no man should have the power to experiment with the lives of other human beings no matter how humane he may be or how good his intentions are?

Many remedies have been proposed, many solutions offered, and if honestly tried some might alleviate the ills of mankind. At best, however, they are reforms which leave the fundamental cause of the ills of society untouched. If mankind is to grow and to develop to a higher form of life than the dog eat dog state that exists today a society organized on the principle of voluntary association and free will must supplant the present.

We call ourselves libertarians and socialists in the broadest sense of those terms and define our theories as follows:

INTER NOS

With this issue MAN! completes six years of its existence, four of which were under constant fire of the authorities. For an anarchist paper to be attacked by a government is no new thing. When war was recently "in the air," most of our contemporary organs in France were pounced upon by the "people's front" government. The unabating four years persecution of MAN! by the "new deal" regime of "our" country, in peace times, attests therefore, to the effectiveness of our labors.

Our survival of the four years persecution is a credit to the Groups and individual Comrades who made this possible.

In approaching the seventh year of our existence MAN! wishes to call to the attention of those individuals whom it has been carrying on the mailing list for years despite their failure of renewing their subscription that they ought to reciprocate by filling out the blank that follows below.

MAN!

RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

Name
 Street
 State..... Country.....
 One Year.....Six Months Contribution.....
 Make all monies payable to:
 MAN!
 Address: P.O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.

"Libertarian-Socialism: The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary."

"Libertarian-Socialist: A believer in Libertarian-Socialism; one opposed to all forms of coercive government and invasive authority; and advocate of voluntary association as the ideal of political liberty and social harmony."

How do we propose to achieve this condition?

1. Contrary to general understanding we believe in organization and define that term as follows: In a free society various forms of association will be entered into at the inclination and according to the understanding of the individuals concerned. For the present we advocate and practice the forming of small local groups to deal with such problems as are purely local on an autonomous basis; these groups do and will continue to, federate with each other to better spread their ideas and to make for more effective propaganda.

2. We are against all wars and maintain that wars in the last analysis benefit only the capitalist or ruling class. Revolution as such is not war. Where it becomes so, as at present in Spain, it is because violence has been thrust upon the people by the armed resistance of the privileged class to an essentially peaceful process. Responsibility for the state of war in Spain today rests upon the former governing class who resorted to arms with the aid and connivance of the gigantic land owning Catholic Church and the financial, military and trade assistance given openly by the fascist governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal, covertly by the so-called democracies of England, France and the U. S. We are at all times unalterably opposed to conscription and expect to oppose it as best we can under any and all circumstances.

3. We favor conducting Libertarian Schools for Children where children will be able to grow and develop in a state of freedom without being subjected to propaganda for or against any ism or theory. Self-discipline is the only discipline worth-while and the child must not be drilled into accepting any system of thought merely because the teacher thinks it the correct one, or any religion because the teacher believes it the best.

4. Most libertarian-socialists, and certainly the signatories of this manifesto, believe Syndicalism is one of the avenues of approach to a free society. Stripped of unessential verbiage and the misrepresentation of its opponents Syndicalism means nothing more or less than trade unionism, not, however, anything like the mean and unworthy sort advocated by the bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor. It means, and its advocates foresee, a society wherein the modern trade union, now purely an organization for defence will be transformed into an agency for production and distribution upon federal lines. Libertarian Socialists see good in both craft and industrial unionism if honestly and intelligently conducted for the defense of existing benefits if any, and the improvement of the economic condition and the status of labor, now so frightfully exploited and downtrodden. However, as society grows more and more mechanized industrial unionism will more and more be the form in which labor must organize to combat its evils and pave the way for a greater solidarity.

5. The attitude of libertarian socialists toward Consumers Cooperatives is one of whole-hearted sympathy and support. Notwithstanding that most of the members of consumers' organizations today are without a real understanding of the principle underlying their own activity, and therefore without sympathy toward us, that principle is voluntary cooperation for the members within and free competition for those outside its ranks.

6. The attitude of libertarian socialists on the subject of cooperation with other groups of honest radicals and reformers in working for the release of political and labor prisoners, with peace societies and in trade unions is one

of entire sympathy. Unlike some groups which join other organizations to bore within and gain control, we have no other aim than to spread our ideas, and if those we work with have better ideas than ours to accept and profit by theirs. One of the fundamentals of the truly civilized man is play fair and keep faith.

7. The Land Problem has long been the weakest plank in the platforms of reform and revolutionary parties. The Russian Peasant after twenty-one years of a Socialist Republic finds himself a stepchild and has even less say in the affairs of the nation than the city worker. The opinion seems to prevail in Russia that the latter is more intelligent and therefore better qualified to decide the fate of the former than he is himself. Of the non-governmental theories regarding land tenure the two most plausible it seems to us, is "occupancy and use" and a syndicalist form of ownership such as prevails in certain parts of revolutionary Spain. Both are consistent with Libertarian Socialism for this is a theory of social organization based upon experimentation. "Occupancy and Use" as the only title to land justifies itself—no man should "own" land unless he is using it, and using it in such a way as to justify his claim. On the other hand, the Syndicalist form of ownership means nothing more nor less than that individuals form themselves into a syndicate to work the land. No mere phrases such as "socializing the land" will satisfy either the peasant, the farmer or ourselves.

8. The three best known schools of non-governmental socialists are Free Communism, Mutualism and Syndicalism. The economics of the first is as its name implies, Free Communism which has nothing in common with Bolshevism or the iron-clad regime of present-day Russia; that of the second is mutual exchange of products by the system known as Proudhon's Mutual Bank; and of the third, as has been explained a form of industrial grouping similar to the modern trade union but transformed into units for the production and distribution of those things that make up our daily life. All three schools are libertarian in that they acknowledge the State as the paramount enemy of man and seek to supplant it with a society based upon voluntary association and good will, it is the State that supports Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and all the other despots, including our own. It is the State that is the tool of the banker and capitalist and makes possible the millions of unemployed, the starved and stunted men, women and children and the evils that flow from them in our present day society. Social theories that fail to recognize this are dealing with the details and leave the real enemy untouched.

Granting that you, reader, believe with us that the present social order is based upon injustice, cruelty and stupidity, we submit our ideas for consideration and co-operation. We believe, advocate and, as far as is humanly possible, practice the principles of freedom and social solidarity. We are of the opinion that society can never remain static and that unless a change for the better is advocated and fought for a change for the worse is inevitable.

This appeal is addressed to intelligent people—mark you we say intelligent not educated—to those able as well as willing to use their intelligence. We have no slogans to submit and no short cuts to Utopia to offer. Our ideas are, however, the ideas of the men and women of today as of all time who believe and believed with their whole hearts that no society was or is worth building or fighting for unless it is based upon liberty and well-being for all. We solicit your cooperation in this fight and promise ours in return.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE,
 Harry Kelly,
 Temporary-Secretary,
 Crompond, New York.

The foregoing was agreed on at a conference of libertarian socialists held on September 5, and 12 at Mohegan Colony. Six sessions were held lasting about fifteen hours. Fifty-odd men and women participated. Their conclusions represent fairly accurately the libertarians of America even though they were not actually delegated by the groups they came from.

ERSATZ ANARCHISTS: An Answer on the Manifesto

STRANGE things are happening lately in the Anarchist ranks.

Some Anarchists are either afraid or ashamed of the name Anarchist.

They adopt all kind of disguise and camouflage in order to hide their identity.

They hide themselves under some Ersatz.

Bravely, like some crustaceans, they march backward instead of forward.

I thought we had got rid of the distinction between "criminal" and "philosophic" anarchists but I underestimated the ingenuity of some Ersatz Anarchists. They discovered that they are "Libertarians."

Until now I took it for granted that Anarchism is the highest expression of liberty, but I seem to have been mistaken.

To crown their cowardice, they now organized themselves into a "Libertarian Socialist League." Lo and behold, a Socialist League of Anarchists.

And this after an intellectual struggle of more than hundred years. Have they not read anything on the question?

If these "fellow travelers" are so afraid or ashamed of the name of Anarchist, and intend to hide themselves under a socialist label, why don't they join the "Socialism" of Hitler, the "Syndicalism" of Mussolini, the "Communism" of Stalin, or, still better, the prophetic socialism of Father Divine?

Would it be asking too much that these Ersatz comrades read in Vanzetti's letters why we insist on the name Anarchist?

A badge of honor which should not be corrupted, prostituted and dishonored by some Ersatz.

If these comrades should succeed in their "Hide and Seek" policy, then all our work for the past 100 years has been in vain; all the books, pamphlets written, all the organs issued on the question of Anarchism vs. Socialism, all in vain.

Yet I doubt many Anarchists will be eager to join the United Front of Mollusks.

Hippolyte Havel

The manifesto, that we print above, by substituting the word anarchism with the one of "libertarian-socialist," without offering any kind of an explanation for so doing, fully justifies the manner in which our veteran Comrade Hippolyte Havel has reacted toward the new creation. This is the general opinion of the Group that is publishing MAN!. Our pages will be open to all comrades and groups wishing to express their opinion upon the question at issue.

MAN!

We have a few dozen sets of MAN! from August, 1937, up to and including this issue that we can forward to any address for One Dollar, plus sixteen cents postal charges.